

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 EUR-25 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAI-01 ACDE-00

OMB-01 EB-11 AEC-11 AECE-00 OIC-04 /177 W

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P R 061813Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0254

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02031

NATO ALSO FOR MILLER

DEPT, ALSO FOR DR. IKLE

SHAPE FOR INTAF: VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL:

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR: VERIFICATION, STABILIZING MEASURES AND
COLLATERAL - FLA FOR EUROPEAN INDIGENOUS FORCES

REF: BONN 1055

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING FEB 4-5 VISIT TO BONN, ACDA
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR MILLER DISCUSSED MBFR VERIFICATION
AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES WITH FRG OFFICIALS, STRESSING
BOTH OUR INTEREST IN LONGER RANGE ASPECTS OF VERIFICA-
TION AND THE RELATIVELY GREATER IMPORTANCE U.S. ATTACHES
TO VERIFICATION OF RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS OVER FORCE
WITHDRAWALS. GERMANS REITERATED CAUTIOUS POSITIONS ON
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PERMANENT INSPECTORATES, MOBILE MLM'S AND UNACCOMPANIED

EASTERN INSPECTORS. THEY ALSO STRESSED WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN NTM AND INFORMALLY FLOATED POSSIBILITY OF COLLATERAL FLA ARRANGEMENT COVERING EUROPEAN INDIGENOUS FORCES DURING MBFR-II. END SUMMARY

1. MILLER DISCUSSED VERIFICATION ISSUES MAINLY WITH FONOFF OFFICIALS RUTH (MBFR DEPT) AND HAUBER (VERIFICATION DEPT); ISSUES ALSO AROSE BRIEFLY WITH AMB ROTH AND DEFMIN OFFICIALS STEINHAUS AND TREBESCH. THRUST OF MILLER'S ARGUMENT WAS THAT U.S. SEES POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT PRECEDENT VALUE FOR ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS GENERALLY IN SEEKING TO EXTEND MBFR VERIFICATION ARRANGEMENTS TO NEGOTIATED MEASURES BEYOND NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS (NTM). WHILE NTM WILL BE CENTRAL VERIFICATION INSTRUMENT OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, MILLER SAID WEST WOULD GAIN BY NEGOTIATING MEASURES TO VERIFY RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS AS WELL AS FORCE WITHDRAWALS.

2. FRG OFFICIALS REACTED CAUTIOUSLY, EMPHASIZING IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACH TO GERMAN/ALLIED PARTICIPATION IN ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS OF INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM AMERICAN NTM. ROTH SAID FRG WAS AWARE OF SENSITIVITY OF THIS MATTER FOR U.S. BUT BELIEVED SECURITY OF U.S. INFORMATION COULD BE GUARDED BY RESTRICTING NUMBER OF ALLIED OFFICIALS INVOLVED. AS NTM LIKELY IN GERMAN VIEW TO BE BEDROCK OF MBFR VERIFICATION, HAUBER OBSERVED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE SUPPLEMENTARY VERIFICATION MEASURES UNTIL NTM PROBLEM RESOLVED. THERE ARE MANY POSSIBILITIES AND GERMANS ARE NOW RESERVING FINAL POSITIONS ON THESE MATTERS. MILLER SAID WE UNDERSTOOD GERMAN CONCERN ON NTM BUT ALSO ATTACHED CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO NEGOTIATED MEASURES.

3. NOTING PAST SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD ON-SITE INSPECTION, HAUBER SAID HE HAD SERIOUS DOUBTS WHETHER SOVIETS WOULD AGREE TO FURTHER NEGOTIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES, PARTICULARLY OF RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS. HAUBER ALSO REITERATED GERMAN MISGIVINGS OVER "RUSSIANS RUNNING AROUND" IN FRG; MOBILE SOVIET INSPECTORS UNACCOMPANIED

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BY GERMAN LIAISON OFFICERS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY OBJECTIONABLE TO FRG FROM STANDPOINT OF DOMESTIC POLITICS AND COULD BE SEEN TO ENTAIL "SPECIAL STATUS" FOR GERMANY. HAUBER ADDED THAT PERMANENT INSPECTORATES ALSO POSE SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR GERMANS. FRG PREFERS IDEA OF INSPECTION BY CHALLENGE.

4. HAUBER DESCRIBED SOVIET MLM'S PRESENTLY IN FRG AS

"ANACHRONISM AND RELIC OF LAST WAR AND OCCUPATION."
GERMAN PRESS HAD CRITICIZED PRACTICES OF
SOVIET MLM'S ONLY LAST WEEK AND, SAID HAUBER, BONN DOES
NOT WANT TO REVIVE, EXPAND OR OTHERWISE ACCORD NEW
ENDORSEMENT TO THE PRACTICE. MOREOVER, WHILE FRG (AND
PARTICULARLY DEFENSE MINISTRY) UNDERSTANDS POSSIBLE

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USNMR SHAPE

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BENEFITS U.S. INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS SEE IN DEPLOYING
UNACCOMPANIED WESTERN INSPECTORS TO EAST EUROPE, HAUBER
SAID FONOFF BELIEVES ALLIED GAINS WOULD BE LIMITED.
SOVIETS COULD OBSTRUCT ALLIED PURPOSES EVEN WITHOUT
EASTERN ESCORTS. MILLER ASSERTED U.S. VIEW THAT LIAISON
OFFICERS WOULD INHIBIT POSSIBILITIES OF WESTERN
INSPECTORS. RUTH SUMMED UP GERMAN SIDE OF THIS DIS-
CUSSION BY SAYING VERIFICATION IMPORTANT BUT FRG PLACES
HIGHER PRIORITY ON LIMITING SOVIET INTRUSION THAN ON
AUGMENTING MEASURES BEYOND NTM.

5. ON VERIFICATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES, HAUBER SAID FRG HAD INTERMEDIARY POSITION BETWEEN U.S. AND BELGIUM, AND WISHED TO KEEP OPEN POSITION TO CONSIDER WHETHER VERIFICATION OF CONSTRAINTS NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE. COMMENT - FROM SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS WITH ROTH AND RUTH, WE TEND TO THINK FRG WILL ACCEPT U.S. POSITION ON THIS ISSUE IF ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE MOVES OUR WAY. END COMMENT.

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6. ON CONSTRAINTS RUTH SAID FRG PREFERS USING NATO PAPER ON PIECEMEAL BASIS, FOR ILLUSTRATIVE PURPOSES, RATHER THAN "FILLING IN ALL THE BLANKS FROM OUTSET." HE INQUIRED CONCERNING U.S. VIEW ON COMPOSITION OF BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN OBSERVER TEAMS, NOTING THAT MANY ALLIED MANEUVERS ARE MULTILATERAL. IN SEPARATE CHAT WITH EMBOFF, RUTH SAID FRG IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO DETAILED PARAS 19, 20 AND 21 IN SPC CONSTRAINT PAPER AND, AS REPORTED U.S.NATO 538, HOPES U.S. CAN ACCEPT GENERAL FORMULATION DEFERRING FURTHER DETAILS FOR A FUTURE STUDY.

7. FINALLY, REFERRING TO SEPARATE DISCUSSION OF LINKAGE (SEPTEL), RUTH RECALLED EARLIER BRITISH PROPOSAL TO LIMIT FORCE LEVELS DURING MBFR-I. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING U.S. OBJECTIONS TO TEMPORARY PRE-REDUCTION FLA, RUTH INFORMALLY FLOATED IDEA OF COLLATERAL FLA ON EUROPEAN INDIGENOUS FORCES AS PART OF FINAL MBFR-I AGREEMENT AND EXTENDING FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD RELATED TO MBFR-II NEGOTIATIONS. RUTH THOUGHT SUCH AN FLA DECLARATION MIGHT HELP CONVINCE SOVIETS TO DEFER REDUCTIONS OR STABILIZING MEASURES ON EUROPEAN FORCES TO MBFR-II. HOWEVER, SUCH AN FLA COULD NOT TOUCH QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS AND OR ENTAIL EUROPEAN SUBCEILINGS. RUTH DID NOT SPECIFY EXACT FORM OF DECLARATION BUT INDICATED IT SHOULD BE PART OF MBFR-I AGREEMENT AND COULD, AT PROPER TIME IN MBFR-I NEGOTIATIONS, PROVIDE ASSURANCES BOTH TO SOVIETS AND TO GERMAN DEFENSE MINISTRY THAT THERE WOULD BE AN MBFR-II. IN REPLYING TO RUTH AND, IN SEPARATE TALK WITH ADMIRAL STEINHAUS WHO ALSO FLOATED SAME IDEA, MILLER SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER THE SUGGESTION BUT PRESENTLY HAD NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT U.S. OPPOSITION TO FLA HAD DIMINISHED.

HILLENBRAND

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